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The Emergence of Divergent Text Traditions of Manuel Álvares' *De Institvtione Grammatica Libri Tres* in 16th Century Europe¹

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Following the first edition of Manuel Álvares' *De institutione grammatica libri tres* (Lisbon, 1572), the Portuguese text tradition of the celebrated grammar was completed with the 1573 pupil's manual. Both the precise number of editions that appeared thereafter and what in a distant future might be developed into a *stemma editionum* remain unknown. In the context of ongoing bibliographic research, the present article offers an outlook on the beginnings of Álvaresian grammar in late 16th-century Europe by means of a presentation of how the grammars' national text traditions emerged in Czech, French, German, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish and Spanish editions. Álvares' grammar started to take on divergent national forms since its first publication for the purposes of the Bavarian Jesuit University of Dillingen, in which the volumes were distributed according to the official syllabus, thus moving beyond the division between teacher's manual and pupil's manual made by the author. Even though the more comprehensive *ars maior* also appeared in German and Italian editions, in the late 16th century the *ars minor* became particularly important due to its editions in France, Italy and Spain. There also appeared the Czech variant of the *ars minor* as well as the Lithuanian and Polish partial

¹ The present paper is a fundamentally improved and revised version of a talk I gave on 31 August 2017 at the 14th *International Conference on the History of Language Sciences* (Paris). Since I refer to historical metalinguistic works which from an orthographical point of view partly differ from today's norm, the original spelling of quotations and bibliographical references is retained, as is usual in research belonging to the history of the language sciences. This includes the two graphemes <v> and <u>, the use of which may vary in different editions of Álvares' grammar. The presentation of the material below (chapter 3) is necessarily selective, as I have not yet had access to all of the extant 16th-century editions of Álvares' grammar.

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editions, whose textual constitution seems to correspond to the requirements of the respective syllabi.

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1. Introduction

The rapid global expansion of the Society of Jesus since its recognition by Pope Paul III in 1540 prompted the establishment of a considerable number of Jesuit schools, colleges and universities, both in the Old and in the New World. Initially, in order to supply the required manuals for teaching Latin at the Coimbra *Real Collegio das Artes*, in his letter dated 18 October 1564 the second Superior General Diego Laínez (1512–1565) ordered the Portuguese Jesuit Manuel Álvares (1526–1583) to hand over his materials on Latin grammar (Laínez 1917, VIII, 265). Whereas it seems to be commonly known that the first edition of what may be called the *ars maior* of *De institvtione grammatica libri tres* was published in Lisbon in September of 1572, the existence of the 1573 first edition of the pupil's manual classifiable as *ars minor* could only be proven quite recently (Kemmler 2012, 2015).

In his important paper on the history and editorial dimension of Alvaresian grammar Emilio Springhetti (1913–1976) offers an informative, albeit quite incomplete, table on the *Editiones grammaticae alvaresianae* (Springhetti 1961–1962, 304), counting a total of 530 editions in 22 countries along four centuries. Given that the establishment of a more realistic number of editions must, for the time being, remain the object of bibliographical research, recent studies and the access to hitherto unknown editions allow for a new outlook on some major aspects of how the text traditions in 16th-century Europe, namely in Czech, French, German, Italian, Lithuanian, Polish and Spanish editions, were subject to changes in relation to Manuel Álvares' Latin-Portuguese *editiones principes* of the *ars maior* and *ars minor*.

2. De institvtione grammatica libri tres: The Portuguese editions

Notwithstanding the fact that many aspects related to *De institvtione* seem to have been forgotten in modern times, it is safe to say that Manuel Álvares' *magnum opus* may be viewed as one of the most famous and most influential Latin grammars of all times. Considering the marked interest in obtaining a Latin grammar to be used in Jesuit schools and colleges its success was guaranteed despite whatever shortcomings its opponents might have identified.

While following the terminology traditionally applied to the two variants of Aelius Donatus' grammar (mid-4th century A. D.), I established that the grammar published in Lisbon by João da Barreira in 1572 constitutes the first edition of the grammar with Álvares' innumerable scholarly comments "to be used by the Latin Grammar School teachers". This may be regarded as *ars maior*, whereas the same printer's considerably shorter 1573 "summarized manual, destined for the students" is to be understood as the *ars minor* (Kemmler 2015, 7). Leaving aside the similarity between the grammar's core text, the presence or absence of the scholia means that one should consider at least two different editorial traditions, each of them having their own impact on the dissemination of Alvaresian grammar worldwide.

Apart from the absence of the large part of Álvares' erudite scholia in the pupil's manual, the most obvious difference between the two traditions is the presence of the grammarian's paratext *Auctor Lectori* that can be found in all editions identifiable as *ars minor* (the transcription and translation are given in Kemmler 2015, 9). Another important aspect of the two Lisbon editions is the fact that the chapter *De verborvm conivgatione* is accompanied by the corresponding forms in Portuguese. In this chapter one can also find several scholia referring to the Portuguese language, explicitly meant to facilitate translation of Latin by Portuguese pupils (Kemmler 2016, 65).

One of the noticeable details that allows for a distinction between the 1573 *editio princeps* and the following two Lisbon reprints during Álvares' life (prepared by the author himself in 1578 and by his Jesuit brethren in 1583) is a scholion in Álvares (1578, fol. 4 v), and Álvares (1583, fol. 4 v). This short paragraph, in which the author emphasizes that the boys should get used to the noun-adjective agreement in Latin due to various reasons is missing in the *editio princeps* of *ars minor* (Álvares 1573, fol. 1 r).

Whereas the posthumous edition of the *ars maior*, greatly improved and augmented by António Velez (1549–1609) and printed in Évora at the behest of the Jesuit University (Álvares / Velez 1599), constitutes the last edition of this text in Portugal before the facsimile of the *editio princeps* (Álvares 1974), up until the 1759 prohibition of the Society of Jesus in Portugal the Portuguese tradition of the 'ars minor' would follow the text constitution put forth by Álvares / Velez (1608).

3. Álvares' grammar in Europe, 1574–1599

In disregarding the historical topography of 16th-century Europe that might have yielded different descriptions (due, for instance, to the size of the Holy Roman Empire that at some points in history included most modern Central European countries), I consider Álvaresian tradition within the framework of the present political geography i.e. applying it to modern countries of which the respective 16th-century places of publication are nowadays a part. In the order of the known or presumed first receptions of Álvares' grammar, I will thus be considering editions published in Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain, France, Lithuania and Czechia.

3.1 Germany

The first reception of Álvares' Latin grammar outside Portugal seems to have been undertaken in Bavaria by Sebald Mayer (1540–1576) and his son Johann Mayer (?–1615; active since 1576), official printers of the University of Dillingen (*Universität Dillingen*; 1551–1803), whose government had been assigned to the Society of Jesus since the autumn of 1563 (Specht 1902, 57–58). In 1574, Sebald Mayer printed not only a thoroughly abbreviated pupil's version of the grammar's three parts under the subtitle *Scholijs Auctoris & Rudimentis prætermisiss* (Álvares 1574b, [I]), but he also seems to have printed the three books in separate volumes.

At least since the 1580s the Dillingen edition of Álvares' grammar is composed of an initial three volumes, namely Álvares (1580, I) with 192 pages, Álvares (1582, II) with 377 pages and Álvares (1581, III) with 191, [I] pages. During the first decades of what would be no less than a 150-year-long publishing tradition, the Dillingen Jesuits initially

dispensed with a publication of Álvares' *rudimenta* which essentially offer the paradigms of Latin declensions and conjugations. The reason for such a dispersion of Álvares' grammar by the Bavarian Jesuits lies in the distribution of subject matters due to the official syllabi of the three grammar classes in Dillingen (Specht 1902, 248): Álvares' grammar figures prominently in all of the Dillingen Latin grammar classes from 1574 onwards (*Catalogvs* 1574, fol. 204r).

For the time being, it seems to be impossible to establish the total of Dillingen imprints of Álvares' grammar, be it during the 16th century or even until the 18th century. Even the small number of specimens I was able to consult directly (except for Álvares 1574a) offers an impressive insight — especially if one is to take into account that the real number of editions printed by Sebald and Johann Mayer may be considerably higher — into what is the minimum number of publication of single volumes of Álvares' grammar in Dillingen during the late 16th century: 1574 (3 vols.), 1580 (vol. I), 1581 (vol. III), 1582 (vol. II), 1583 (vols. I–III), 1588 (vol. I), 1591 (vol. III), 1592 (vol. III), 1593 (vol. III), 1594 (vol. II), 1596 (vol. II), 1598 (vols. I, III), 1599 (vols. I, II). During this entire time, books II and III of these Dillingen prints maintain most of Álvares' *scholia* that are typical for the *ars maior* text tradition.

At least some partial or complete reprints of the Dillingen set of Alvaresian grammar were printed in Cologne around 1593 and in Münster around 1595/1596. Additionally, I was unable to confirm the continued existence of specimens said to have been printed in Würzburg (cf. Backer / Backer / Sommervogel 1909, I, col. 225), while it seems reasonable to presume that other less-known editions might have existed.

There is, however, one imprint made in Cologne that eludes what might be considered as being the standard of the German text tradition of 16th-century Alvaresian grammar: with an indication *Integri, vt ab auctore sunt editi, nunc emendatius excusi* (Álvares 1596, [I]), the Cologne Jesuits essentially published a reprint of the 1575 Venetian editions. With the inclusion of Álvares' paratexts (and the addition of a page with two quotes from Quintilian), this German *ars maior* does not seem to diverge significantly from the earlier Italian editions, not even in its treatment of the chapter *De Verborvm Coniugatione* (Álvares 1596, 23–112). This means that the German editors also dispensed with the indication of any German equivalents while keeping most of Álvares' *scholia* that originally had been written for Portuguese learners. There is no information that allows the presumption that this version of the *ars maior* might have had any later reprints.

3.2 Italy

Since the appearance of the first editions of *De institvtione grammatica* in Italy, one can observe that the Italian printers tended toward respecting the original disposition of the author's original *artes*. In this sense, the title pages of the two known imprints of the first edition printed in Venice offer references to the Venetian printers and booksellers Francesco de Franceschi (*Franciscus de Franciscis Senensis*, or Francesco de Francesci of Siena, ca. 1530–ca. 1599) and Giacomo Vidali (*Iacobus Vitalis*). Except for the respective title pages, both specimens coincide completely from a typographical point of view, which leads me to believe that the grammar may have been printed as a joint venture of sorts given that the title pages with the references and the divergent printer's marks constitute the only difference between both books.

Coherently, both imprints belong to the *ars maior* tradition and (keeping Álvares' paratexts) proceed in a unique way in their treatment of the chapter *De Verborvm Coniugatione* (Álvares 1575a/b, 29–109): in their complete, yet slightly revised, version of Álvares' *ars maior*, the editors of the Italian imprints² did not only remove the Portuguese equivalents in the verb paradigms that are so typical of Álvares' grammar, but they also refrained from substituting them with Italian equivalents, all the while maintaining most of the original scholia explaining the intricacies of Latin conjugation for a Portuguese public! The configuration of the 1575 imprints was essentially repeated in the 1581 Venice edition. Shortly later, the 1585 Venice edition adds an onomastic and a thematic index: *Index avctorvm qvi his institvtionibvs ab Emmanuele vel explicantvr, vel emendatur* (Álvares 1585a, [I–II]); *Index copiosissimvs omnivm qvæ in his institvtionibvs ab avctore proponuntvr* (Álvares 1585a, [III–LXXIII]).

In 1585, the Italian version of the *ars minor* emerged in Venice (Gehl 2003, 447). In its 1588 reprint, which I was able to consult, a very important paratextual addition must be noted: in the Italian editions of the *ars minor* with the paratext *Avctor Lectori* (Álvares 1588, [III]), the editor adds Álvares' scholion as an *Admonitio avctoris* (Álvares 1588, [IX–XII]). This seems somewhat strange given that this text may only be found originally as the first prefatory scholion (without a proper title) in the first Lisbon *ars maior* (Álvares 1572, fol. 2), but not in any of the original or later Portuguese editions of the *ars minor*. Also, the first in-text scholion from the *ars maior* is recycled as a prefatory text to the chapter *De nominvm declinatione* (Álvares 1588, [XIII–XVI]).

The biggest change, however, is undertaken in the emblematic chapter *De Verborvm Coniugatione* (Álvares 1588, 18–107), as printer Andrea Muschio (*Andreas Muscius*; ca.1540–ca.1615) explains quite elaborately in his *Admonitio Typographi* (Muschio in Álvares 1588, 22–23). Considering not only his Italophone public but also speakers of other languages, Muschio justifies the overall substitution of the Portuguese equivalents of the Latin conjugation with Italian ones. While refraining from any unwarranted changes to the grammar's original layout, he consequently opts for applying the necessary changes to Álvares' scholia, as the Portuguese examples for translation of Latin to the vernacular must differ from those one would have to consider for Italian pupils (or any other foreign language public).

LUSODAT (s. d.) and personal research allow me to conclude that, among a considerable number of 16th-century Italian imprints, Álvares' grammar was at least printed in Brixen (1597), Genova (1588), Milan (1599), Naples (1583, 1594), Rome (1578, 1580, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1588, 1591, 1592, 1594, 1595, 1598), Venice (1586, 1587, 1589, 1591, 1592, 1595, 1597, 1598) and Verona (1592, 1593). Considering its overall impact in Italy from 1575 until at least 1860, it seems safe to state that a number of no less than thirty 16th-century Italian editions might easily be surpassed in the course of future bibliographical research.

² Quite probably, the editorial changes in relation to the 1572 *ars maior* may have been due to the author's own intervention, as can be gathered from a handwritten annotation in the Évora Public Library copy Res. 333 of the 1572 *ars maior*, which originally belonged to Álvares' papers (cf. Kemmler 2018).

3.3 Poland

The Polish tradition of Alvaresian grammar is intricately linked to the central-western Polish city of Poznań, formerly one of the most important cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where the Jesuit College (*Kolegium Jezuickie w Poznaniu*) was established in 1571. As Łukaszewska-Haberkowa (2015, 234) quite correctly points out, “the first Polish edition was published by Melchior Nehring in 1577 in Poznań”. The researcher astutely corrects Backer / Backer / Sommervogel (1909, I, col. 223) in stating that this first imprint of any part of Alvaresian grammar in Poland by Nehring (fl. 1577–1585) is limited to the third book *De syllabarum dimensione*. As a matter of fact, the preface *Stvdiosis bonarvm artivm ivvenibvs collegii Societatis Iesv posnanieñ. eivsdem collegii professores* (Álvares 1577, fol. 2 r) of the grammar proper, written by the college’s faculty for their students, points out that this prosodia *separatim edita* was printed specifically for their use (Álvares 1577, fol. 2 v). With the exception of the separate paratext, this booklet of 63 unpaginated folios does indeed reproduce Álvares’ third book but in considering that Álvares’ quite elaborate scholia of the third book were generally suppressed in 1577 edition, one cannot help but conclude that these editions follow the *ars minor* tradition.

While among Polish scholars there exists a polemic concerning a first comprehensive edition of the *De institvtione grammatica libri tres*, Łukaszewska-Haberkowa (2015, 234–236) strongly doubts that any such edition ever appeared in Poland. The issue is, for the time being, quite difficult to resolve, since the specimens of 16th-century Álvares’ editions in Poland seem to be of the utmost scarcity. However, basing on Backer / Backer / Sommervogel (1909, I, cols. 225–226) and the additional information in LUSODAT, the following 16th-century imprints may be identified: *Liber II* (Posnaniae: Ex Officina Typographica Joannis Wolrabi, 1586, 1588); *Liber III* (Posnaniae: Ex Officina Typographica Joannis Wolrabi, 1586). The same sources also identify the following presumably complete editions (Posnaniae: Ex Officina Typographica Joannis Wolrabi, 1592, 1597; Nissae [Nysa]: Apud A. Reinheckel).

3.4 Spain

The first ever Alvaresian grammar to be published in Spain was an *ars minor* version of *De institvtione grammatica libri tres*, printed in 1579 in Zaragoza, capital of the Spanish kingdom of Aragón. After the author himself had surrendered his copyright in Spanish territory to the rector of the Jesuit College in Seville (Kemmler 2012, 513–514), the Spanish Jesuits, desirous of printing and using his work in Spanish territory, saw themselves obliged to use the subterfuge of publishing it in the kingdom of Aragón, where the royal Castilian privilege banning any Latin grammar other than Elio Antonio de Nebrija’s (1441–1522) *Introductiones latinae* (1st ed. 1481) did not apply (cf. Ponce de León Romeo 2003a). Like the 1578 edition, whose printing had been supervised by Manuel Álvares himself while staying in Lisbon, the 1579 edition by the Saragossan printer Juan Alteraque or Juan Alterach (1579–1589) offers the verb paradigms and corresponding scholia in Spanish (Kemmler 2016, 58, 60–64).

Similarly, two *ars minor* editions are known to have been printed in the Catalan capital of Barcelona (*Barcinonae*), namely by Jaume Cendrat (*Ex typographia Iacobi Cendrat*) in 1596 and by Gabriel Graells and Giraldo Dotil (*Ex typographia Gabrielis Graells & Geraldi Dotil*) in 1599 (Ponce de León Romeo 2003b, 573), which I was not able to consult. Re-

garding the chapter on verb conjugation, however, Rogelio Ponce de León Romeo (2007, 2981) sees no need to regard these editions as anything other than a Catalan adaptation of the 1579 Zaragoza edition.

3.5 France

Whereas LUSODAT (s. d.) mentions an early 1580 edition printed in Lyon by Lucca-born Italian printer Alessandro Marsilio (*Alexander Marsilius Lucense*, fl. 1570–1586), the earliest French edition I could gain access to was printed in Lyon *in officina Hvg. a Porta: apud Fratres de Gabiano* (Álvares 1594, [I]), that is, in the printing shop of Hugues de La Porte (*Hugo a Porta*; 1500–1572), continued since 1592 under said firm by his grandsons, the Lyon printers and booksellers Jean de Gabiano (ca.1567–ca.1618) and David de Gabiano (ca.1559–ca.1598).

The Gabiano imprint comprises a total of [XVI], 476, [XII] pages in one volume and clearly belongs to the text tradition of the *ars minor* (cf. the paratext *Avctor lectori*, Álvares 1594, [III]). With the exception of adding a citation by Quintilian immediately following the title page (Álvares 1594, [II]), the French editors tend toward respecting the *ars minor*'s original text disposition while making theirs a proper edition for a French public, as shown in the printer's preface *Admonitio Typographi* (Gabiano / Gabiano, in: Álvares 1594, [VII]).

There are, however, two important paratextual additions: in the French editions, the editors also add the *Admonitio avctoris ad litterarvm doctorem* (Álvares 1594, [VII–XII]) and the introductory scholion for the chapter on declension (Álvares 1594, [XIII–XVI]). Both are *ars maior* texts that first can be found as paratexts in the Italian *ars minor* (see above, 3.2). In the chapter *De Verborvm Coniugatione* (Álvares 1594, 20–116), the number and extension of scholia is greatly reduced, rendering the edition mostly devoid of the authors' practical tips for translation based on sample sentences in the vernacular.

The grammar is completed by an unpaginated and quite exhaustive *INDEX PRECIPVARVM RERVMQVÆ HIS TRIBVS libris continentur* (Álvares 1594, [II–XII]). In front of this index in Latin, a printing privilege can be found, granted to the printers for ten years on 8 January 1593 by the Provincial of the Jesuit Province of Lyon, Father Bernardin Castor.

Without any reference to the legal privilege holders, Álvares' grammar was reprinted in 1598, with the following references: *Apvd Ioannem Pillehotte, sub signo nominis IESV* and *Apvd Abraham Cloqvemin*. Considering that both Jean Pillehotte (ca.1545–1612) and Abraham Cloqueminin were booksellers in Lyon and given that the specimens of both editions in octavo size were printed in three parts and with proper title pages, the coinciding pagination of [XVI], 168; [VIII], 160 and 109, [XI] pages leads me to presume that both these editions might have been printed by the same printer, possibly even by the Gabiano brothers.

3.6 Lithuania

While the country belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Jesuit College of Vilnius was founded in 1570 being transformed into the University of Vilnius in 1578. After its establishment in 1576, the printing shop for the Jesuit Vilnius Academy (*Vilniaus akademijai spaustuė*) remained in the role of an academic in-house printer until 1805. Thus, it seems understandable why the two excerpts from Manuel Álvares' gram-

mar were published in Vilnius without any explicit reference to the printing shop or editor (Álvares 1592a/b; cf. Čepienė/Petrauskienė 1979: 12, №№ 1, 2), namely Álvares (1592a, I/1) with 67 unpaginated folios and Álvares (1592b, I/2) with 60 pages.

As the title pages of both booklets declare, they offer (the essence of) the text of Álvares' first book (mostly on Latin morphology and part of the *rudimenta* in volume I/1 and most of the rest of the *rudimenta* in volume I/2). Both volumes are thoroughly devoid of Álvares' scholia, in the sense that the unknown editors removed all of the Portuguese grammarian's additional erudite texts, even those that were conserved or newly created in the Portuguese, Spanish and Italian *artes minores*. Also, the editors refrained from reproducing Álvares' para-text *Avctor Lectori*, which makes sense given that the division of the subject matter seems to coincide with the syllabus the Vilnius Jesuits considered for their pupils — unsurprisingly much in the same way their brethren and countrymen in Poznań were proceeding during this same time.

The most noteworthy fact is that the first of the two volumes, titled *Pars prior*, offers the vernacular equivalents of Latin conjugation in the chapter *De verborvm conivgatione* (Álvares 1592, fol. 14v–55v) in the Polish language, coherently reproduced in italics.

3.7 Czechia

The first Czech edition of Álvares' grammar seems to have been printed in 1598 in Prague, onetime capital city of the Holy Roman Empire, by Václav Marin z Jenčic (*Vencslaus Marinus a Genczicz*, born in Jenčice, fl. 1595–1602). As the work combines *Avctor Lectori* (Álvares 1598a; I, fol. 2 r) with the reduced number of scholia, the grammar may be viewed as part of the *ars minor* text tradition.

The Czech edition offers some characteristics that diverge from the Portuguese tradition of Alvaresian grammar. The first of these aspects is the publication of each of the three books of Álvares' grammar as an independent publication with a separate title page, namely Álvares (1598a, I) with 126 folios, Álvares (1598b, II/1), occupying folios 127–149 with [XV] unpaginated pages, Álvares (1598c, II) with 88 folios and Álvares (1598d, III) with 55 folios.

The publication in three books (with four title pages) seems to agree with the way Álvares' grammar would be published henceforth in its Prague editions: even if some specimens would be bound together for educational or library purposes, the three parts (and later on four parts, when the *Rudimenta* were published apart from the first part of the grammar's first book) would be available separately, sometimes even being published in different years.

The existence of the scholion on declension in Álvares (1598a, I, fol. 5 v) indicates that this Czech edition must adopt the text constitution of later editions of the Portuguese *ars minor* (like Álvares 1578, fol. 4 v; Álvares 1583, fol. 4 v) or other European editions that retake the new text constitution (like Álvares 1588, fol. 1 r).

The most important diversion from the original disposition of Álvares' monolingual Latin text in its Portuguese and Central European variants, however, resides in the fact that not only in the chapter *De verborvm conivgatione* (Álvares 1598a, I, fol. 21 r–126 r), but also in the previous chapter *De nominvm declinatione* (Álvares 1598a, I, fol. 4 r–20 v) both Czech and German equivalents occur with great regularity. Thus, the first book of the Prague edition coherently offers all the paradigms in Latin (Roman typeset) as well as in the Czech and German vernaculars (the latter two in the *Fraktur* or Gothic typesets).

4. Conclusions

Since 1574 Álvares' grammar was an object of publication in several parts by order of the Jesuits of Dillingen University. What renders these and other mostly Bavarian imprints characteristic of what may be perceived as 'the German tradition' is that Álvares' grammar in three books was published initially in three separate volumes, among which the first tome is devoid both of Álvares' scholia and of the *Rudimenta* that constitute the latter part of his *Liber primus*. These changes were due to the syllabus of the University of Dillingen, which considered different subject matters for each of the humanities and grammar classes. In comparison, there seems to be but one complete 16th-century imprint of the whole *De institvtione grammatica* (Cologne 1596), seemingly derived from the 1575 Venetian edition without any vernacular equivalents in the chapter on verb conjugation.

The text constitution of the Italian variants of Álvares' grammar may be viewed as a product of the endeavors of printers and booksellers in the Republic of Venice who were quite keenly and explicitly interested in achieving an international distribution of their print products. In this sense, the two extant variants of the first Venetian imprint of the 1575 *ars maior* constitute an almost complete adoption of Álvares' original text, with the exception that the Portuguese equivalents in the chapter on verb conjugation were coherently removed by the author given that they would be unhelpful for an Italophone or even international public. As a unique addition to the Italian text tradition, the Venice imprints offer an onomastic and a thematic index.

At least since 1585, there was a Venetian edition of the *ars minor*. As for the 1588 edition, while adding the *Avctor Lectori* paratext, printer Andrea Muschio not only repurposed a scholion of the original *ars maior* in the form of an *Admonitio avctoris* but also reintroduced the *ars maior*'s second scholion as a prefatory text to the chapter on noun declension. Additionally, and no less important, Muschio substituted the Portuguese equivalents in the chapter on verb conjugation with Italian ones, and applied the necessary changes to the scholia so that their advice for pupils on how to best translate the Latin constructions may apply for an Italian public. Also, he added some extracts of Aldo Manuzio's treatise on Latin spelling and two alphabet tables of Greek and Hebrew letters.

Due to reasons that are similar to the predicament of Dillingen University, the teachers of the Jesuit College of Poznań in modern-day Poland started out by only publishing specific parts of Álvares' grammar in order to apply them to the needs of specific Latin grammar classes. In this sense, the first Alvaresian imprint to be issued in Poland was the third book *De syllabarum dimensione* without any scholia in 1577, followed by other books in 1586. The existence of complete editions has not yet been proven.

The beginning of a proper Spanish tradition was rendered enormously difficult by the royal privilege in favor of the descendants of the Spanish grammarian Elio Antonio de Nebrija who were essentially able to impede the impression and circulation of any Latin grammar in the kingdom of Castile that might show direct or indirect influence of Nebrija's work. Thus, the Spanish Jesuits, in their desire to print and circulate Álvares' grammar for use in their schools and colleges, allowed a reprint of the 1578 Lisbon *ars minor* to be published by means of using the subterfuge of the imprint being realized in the city of Zaragoza, capital of the kingdom of Aragón. In the same way Álvares (1578) and Álvares (1579) offered a chapter on verb conjugation with its equivalents and scholia in Spanish, this same territorial reasoning seems to be behind the two imprints of

the *ars minor* with Catalan equivalents (most probably based on the 1579 Saragossan edition), printed in Barcelona in 1596 and 1599.

While there exist indications of a 1580 French edition that I could not yet localize, the earliest French edition I was able to consult dates from 1594 and was printed in the city of Lyon, which, next to Paris, constituted one of the largest centers for printers and booksellers in France. Quite surprisingly, in their French version of the *ars minor*, the printers Jean and David de Gabiano not only translate the equivalents in the chapter on verb conjugation into the French vernacular, but also evidence some debt to the Venetian *ars minor* in reproducing the aforementioned reintroduced *scholia* that originally belonged exclusively to the *ars minor* text tradition. Also, like the Italian *ars maior*, the French *artes minores* offer a thematic index at the book's end.

It is not surprising that due to syllabus considerations the Lithuanian Jesuits may have chosen to publish the books of Álvares' grammar in individual parts, in a way that his first book is only partially reproduced without the *scholia* in the two extant 1592 booklets that are dedicated to the *Libri Primi Pars Prior* (with the equivalents on verb conjugation in Polish) and (most of) the rest of *Liber I*. Similarly, while there would be no more Lithuanian imprints during the 16th century, mid- to late 18th-century Lithuanian imprints of Alvaresian grammar tend toward maintaining the editorial division in three books with mainly independent front pages.

Divided into four volumes, the beginning of the Czech tradition dates back to 1598. Despite said division into four volumes with separate title pages — presumably due to didactic considerations as in Germany, Poland and Lithuania — the editors clearly displayed their affiliation with the *ars minor text* tradition by reprinting Álvares' paratext *Avctor Lectori*, all while reducing even further the number of *scholia*. This reduction may be due to a quite literal change in paradigm presented by these editions: whereas other 16th-century European editions only offer vernacular equivalents in the paradigms of the chapter *De Verborvm Coniugatione*, the Czech version of Alvaresian grammar also offers equivalents in the Czech and German vernaculars in the chapter *De nominvm declinatione*. Evidently, if one considers the special importance of Prague in the Habsburg-governed Holy Roman Empire, the existence of bilingual paradigms does not really surprise, but it clearly renders the Czech edition unique in the universe of Alvaresian grammar in the late 16th century.

As we have seen, the fact that the tradition of Álvares' grammar in Europe in the 16th century was manifested either by means of fragmented editions of parts or individual books (as was mostly the case in Germany, Poland, Lithuania and Czechia) or as complete sets of the whole grammar with all of its three books (with or without individual title pages) seems to be, on the one hand, related to considerations of didactic nature, while, on the other hand, the preservation of the grammar's integrity in printing places like Venice, Lyon and Prague, and also in Naples, Rome and Paris, may be related to commercial considerations, as one comprehensive edition, printed in a considerable number of copies, would be far more marketable in the international book fairs like those in Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig.

While this research has allowed for the finding that at least the constitution of the French *ars minor* may derive from the previous Italian *ars minor*, we are still far from being able to achieve the ultimate goal in Alvaresian bibliography: the elaboration, in any form, of a *Stemma editionum* both of European and non-European editions remains a desideratum which cannot be fulfilled at the given time — especially because of the well-

known fact that the web of Alvaresian grammar in all variations grew and blossomed in the 17th and 18th centuries. A first step toward this goal is to try to understand the true extension of the editorial universe of Alvaresian grammar worldwide.

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